

AN  
ADDRESS  
TO THE  
PUBLIC

(Price One Shilling.)



PRINT OF

London 1809

A N  
ADDRESSE  
TO THE  
P U B L I C,

On the late DISMISSION of a

GENERAL OFFICER.

Equidem ego sic existimo omnes cruciatus minores  
quam facinora illorum esse, sed plerique mortales po-  
strema meminere, & in hominibus impiis *sceleris* eorum  
obliti, de *pænâ* differunt. SALLUST.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. NICOLL, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

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GENERAL INDEX

GENERAL INDEX  
OF THE LIBRARY OF THE  
BRITISH MUSEUM  
FOR THE YEARS 1851 AND 1852

Now is come the day of reckoning, now is come the time  
When we must all appear before the judgment-seat of God.

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## **A N** ADDRESS to the Public, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

**T**H E contents of this address were  
 drawn up solely for your use, as soon  
 therefore as they were finish'd I had no doubt  
 with myself to whom they should be inscrib'd.  
 I did not find myself disposed to write to *any*  
*member of parliament, or any noble lord in re-*  
*irement*; nor would I adopt the hackney'd  
 guise of a *friend in town* communicating his  
 thoughts to a *gentleman in the country*. Were  
 one to judge from the inaccuracy indeed of  
 some of these compositions, one should be  
 tempted to conclude that they were designed  
 for the private view of some partial friend;

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and, as such, corresponding well enough with the titles they assume, rather than for the strict consideration of the discerning public. I shall not pretend to any greater degree of correctness than any of my cotemporaries : I was willing only at my first outset, to give them as it were a pledge of my frankness and ingenuity, avowing openly, that I meant to submit my thoughts to their consideration ; and therefore addressing myself to them directly.

The dismission of a general officer from the service, is a transaction, I do not mean to call it, not cognizable at the tribunal of the public, but rather in itself of a private nature, affecting chiefly an individual, and reaching the *generality* very remotely, if at all, in any of it's consequences. An unfashionable tenet I am well aware in these latitudinarian times, where every man with his self-given authority, readily pronounces his willing judgment, upon all matters indiscriminately, which he is scarce so patient to hear as he is eager to condemn. In the modish

modish language of the day, this is styled Our Liberty ; whereas, in truth, it is only the cloak of our maliciousness, and so widely are we mistaken, that an intemperance which ought deservedly to be reckon'd the reproach even of a civilized people, is absurdly extoll'd as the peculiar glory of our land. The dismission of a general officer, whether rightly or not, has however engaged somewhat of the public attention. Attempts have been made too, to render it the object of popular clamour ; and tho' our memories would not suffer it to be called unprecedented, yet every other inflaming epithet has been laboriously given it, and insinuations lavishly thrown out, that this was only the beginning of sorrows ; that such an unconstitutional act was not meant to stand single and unsupported, but was to be followed by the disgrace of several other general officers ; and lest this should be borne too calmly, it was industriously added, that the whole army was to be new model'd.

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After

After the numerous falsehoods with which you had been amused during the whole course of the last sessions of parliament, I must own I was in great hopes that the farewell dinner at Wildman's, was thrown out as a kind of signal for the discontinuance of these artifices. The sagacious leaders of the Coterie must have been convinced long ago, that the ideas which they endeavour'd to propagate, that the several parts of administration were divided and disunited, met with as much difficulty to obtain credit as their own confident boastings that they were soon to resume their power, and this too, in spight of the weekly letters written by his grace's favourite nephew into the favourite county of *Suffex*, all peremptorily asserting that a few days would infallibly see him reinstated.

The public papers have been so long filled with rumours of changes and alterations, that these very articles which parcell'd out the great offices of the state among our very disinterested

interested patriots came at last to be perused with as much sang froid and inattention as the Deal list, or the tide table. In this situation of the veracity of the candidates for power, one would have imagined them politicians enough, at least to have forborn recalling to the public attention the memory of their late defeat, and to have waited till the near approach of another session of parliament might have induced a belief of the possibility of their success. But these experienced leaders (and you see there are some general officers among them) have adopted a different system. They scorn even summer quarters ; and like the King of Prussia, consider the attainment of their wishes to be the only end of the campaign ; tho' upon better recollection, they seem to have had more in view Marshal Belleisle's orders to M. de Contades, " de faire un véritable desert of the *country* they are marching through."

Since then this is the case, and you are to have no recess, but to be continually harrassed

ed with alarms of designs on your liberty, of invasions of the constitution and the like, it becomes of some importance to examine fairly the state of things. It is of no small consequence, I will not say merely to your domestick peace and quiet, but to your reputation abroad, and your prosperity at home, that you should have a confidence in the government under which you live. This confidence is the real strength and spirit of a kingdom; every thing that tends to make you lessen it should be looked on with a cautious jealousy. It should be neither given nor withdrawn, without the most scrupulous consideration; since unnerv'd by this you may continue for a while the shadow of a great and flourishing people, but you will want the essential substance. In such a disjointed situation every attempt to try your strength, will only prove a melancholy instance of your weakness.

To improve this confidence, and to detect the malicious arts of those who would influence

fluence you to withdraw it, is the chief design of the present address, applied to the particular object which has lately been made use of to alarm you, I mean the dismission of a general; and if you would judge impartially of this matter, you must set aside from the question every personal consideration. Viewed as a public point, neither the alliance to a great family, nor the influence of an independent fortune, have any share in this discussion. How far this transaction affects the *Public*; what interest the *Nation* has in the general's continuance in office; or what wound it has received by his dismission from it, are the only points in question: and though individuals may be concerned for him as a man, (yet even this concern would be more properly expressed for the conduct occasioning this dismission) as a *people*, it remains to see whether we owe to him, on the score of gratitude, or have any reason to apprehend the vitals of our constitution endangered by the step which

has been taken. Our thoughts will probably be reduced to more order, were we regularly to inquire what hurt has been done to the army in general by the late dismission, and what particular hardship has fallen on the individual who is the object of it, which will naturally lead us to ask farther, what detriment the public has received from a measure which has been so assiduously represented to be highly injurious to it?

With respect to dismissions in general, they are so sanctified by custom, even by the constant custom of those who, while in power, practised them without remorse, though they are now condemning them without measure, that I could scarce hope for the public attention, were I to enlarge on them in the light of hardships to private families. Our state physicians, indeed, have considered them as a kind of extraordinary remedy, not to be had recourse to in the usual stages of a disorder, but only to be

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prescribed when every other method of treatment has been found ineffectual : there is one singular property attending them, that as they are very violent in their operation, and consequently often annihilates the patient they are given to, who is *unable to bear them*, yet they are found to act collaterally, and produce the most surprising effects on persons in the same disorder, having been known to recover men who were very near the last stage of the distemper.

The first salutary symptom is a Πενη Φοβία, which generally brings on a state of rest and quietism, and the patient is quickly restored to a state of sound health. It would be idle, therefore, to dwell on the general grievances of *dismissions*, when applied to the army. In those instances where length of time, and confessed ability in the profession, conspire together ; where the gradual promotions have been the effect, not of parliamentary connections, but of distin-

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guished merit, and of a variety of military services, there I own it laid the foundation of pretensions which should not lightly be set aside. Not but the best pretensions may be forfeited, the greatest services may be cancelled by a sequel of conduct, which no situation can justify, no exertions of military prowess can atone for : and I have said this the rather, because the army has been, I know not how, considered by some as standing on a distinct line from civil professions ; on so distinct a line, that what would have been allowed as a very reasonable cause of dismission from the one, has been looked on as a hard and unjustifiable treatment when applied to the other.

I can easily conceive why they should hold this language, who, by their long possession and constant disposal of all offices, both civil and military, think they have acquired an indefeasable, if not an hereditary right to the continuance of themselves and friends

friends in their respective employments: but I cannot easily persuade myself that the public should adopt an opinion so evidently partial, setting off one set of men so much higher than the rest, where family and fortune and accident are much more frequently the causes of success, than in the other paths of life.

Is not a man, for instance, who is in the track of public offices, as much buried in a profession, as much cut off from the probability of succeeding in any other way, should he be divested of his employment, as any officer can be? will they not both be equally awkward, and equally averse too, to the engaging in any other pursuit? with this difference in favour of the civil officer, in proportion as situations acquired by dint of industry are more pleasant to enjoy, more difficult to be obtained, and consequently more grievous to lose, than those great and

sudden elevations which are the *coup de mains* of fortune.

Daily experience convinces us that military promotions, and those too of the highest ranks, are by no means the settled regular consequence of ability in the profession ; whereas in civil life the attainments of eminence are generally the rewards of labour and industry in the routine of public offices ; or if the progress be more rapid, they are the sure marks of uncommon genius and proficiency, seldom bestowed, and not to be acquired nor maintained without a great degree of merit.

It requires no extraordinary discernment to make this distinction, nor will the case appear partially stated, when it is remembered how much more frequently rank and emolument are the fruits of purchase, and of favour and affection, in the military than they are in civil life ; I am sure the instances

stances which might be given of dismissions in the one and the other, would bear no sort of comparison.

I will just point out one example which happened a few years ago within the compass of my experience. While a noble Duke presided at the head of the board of Treasury, and by whose sign manual, indeed, the dismissal was effected, a gentleman of a very liberal education, and who is still remembered by his contemporaries as a good scholar and an ingenious man, had been bred to the law in the early part of life ; but being prevented by ill health from pursuing his studies in that profession, quitted the Temple at the advice of his friends, and, by their recommendation of him to Sir Robert Walpole, obtained the office of one of the commissioners for regulating hackney coaches, where he behaved in such a manner as to recommend him very much to the notice of his superiors. In a few years after,

ter, some old schoolfellows, who had remembered him at Westminster, joined in a petition to Lord Orford, and got him appointed a commissioner at one of the inferior boards at 500*l.* *per annum.* In this situation he remained for a considerable time, constantly and diligently performing the duties of his office, from which he never suffered his advanced age, or his ill health, to excuse him in the least. At length came the fatal blow to this poor man's ease and quiet, and indeed in its consequences nearly affecting his life. A letter of dismission was sent from the Treasury, somewhat softened, indeed, by the constant gibberish on these occasions: "That he should be glad of an opportunity to serve him," but taking care to inform him at the same time, "that his Majesty had no farther occasion for his services."

Well might he have answered, with Shylock in the play,

Nay,

Nay, take my life and all ; pardon not that.

You take my house, when you do take the prop

That doth sustain my house ; you take my life,

When you do take the means whereby I live.

The event was, that the poor man, whose infirmities called for some indulgences, and whose fortune did not furnish him with the means of affording them, languished about three months, and then died.

This very plain tale does not stand in need of any comment. I will only add, that the mortification was farther heightened by the insignificancy and character of the person on whose behalf this removal was made.

It would be very difficult, I believe, to quote any instances of a parallel kind in the army : if a line is to be drawn between military and civil commissions, and it is to be the doctrine of the day, that officers, be their

their conduct in departments of business wholly foreign to their profession what it will, are not to be dismissed but for military offences only, and by judges of their own, surely that would be a wound to the freedom of this country, which I will not charge even the clamorous abettors of such a tenet with the design of giving. When once the officers find they are to depend on no power but their own, it is to be feared they would soon begin to think they have a legal right to their commissions and to their pay; and were both K—— and Parliament to join in opinion for reducing any number of them, they would look on it as an injury done to them, and be apt to join together to prevent the effect of such a resolution. Whereas, while the officers remain in the dependent state they are in at present, they know they have no right either to their commissions or their pay, any longer than it shall please his Majesty to continue them in their command.

What

What think you was the intent of that annual opposition to standing armies, which was given for so many years successively; and the chief managers of which are handed down to us, some of them remembered by us, as the firmest patriots? what was it but, in its consequences, the annulling the idea now endeavoured to be set up, that officers hold their commissions by another tenure than that of the grace of the Crown, and the establishment of Parliament?

What think you was the intent of voting the army annually, but to prevent military establishments being riveted on this country, and considered as perpetual? How are these clamours then at the dismission of a general officer, consistent with the labours of those patriots, with the idea of parliament, or with the desires of every well-wisher to his country? Do you consider it as a valuable object, to make every reduction in your military force that is consistent with your se-

D curity?

curity? and do you strive to set up a claim which renders such a reduction impossible, and leads directly to perpetuity?

Do you think it strictly constitutional that the army should be yearly voted by your representatives, and that the commissions should, in consequence, depend upon their opinion of the expediency of their continuance? and do you encourage an idea which must quickly set them out of the reach both of King and of Parliament, and to own no other masters to whom they should be accountable, but themselves. It is impossible that two such contradictory propositions should exist together. No: let the officer and the man of civil business stand on one and the same foundation, their own good behaviour. Let the crown, which is entrusted with the executive part of government, have its own rights and privileges, and surely they are not unreasonable ones, the employment or dismission

dismissal of such ministers and servants as it thinks most conducive to the general good of the whole.

The army then, consider'd as a profession, and, I allow it to be a profession, and of a very liberal kind, cannot be thought injured by the late dismissal: Military commissions in this country, tho' much more extensive of late than our ancestors wou'd have thought consistent with the great freedom we enjoy, have not yet taken such deep root among us as to be looked upon as *eternal*. The great view in which the army can suffer as a profession, is in the male disposition of it's ranks, and very lucrative departments, if these are confined (and former court kalendars will instruct us) to borough connections, instead of being the rewards of ability and service, such a damp will be thrown on every man who has not the good fortune to be born a cousin to the mayor, or jurate of a corporate town,

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that

that in time it will cease to be a profession ; it will cease to be a school of great and glorious achievements, and become only the repository of men, who have neither knowledge or experience enough to do credit to themselves, or service to the publick. Try the subject of the present question by what has been abovemention'd. What are likely to be the sentiments of the officers of the army upon the dismission of this general ? That part of them who engage in civil business, or who have civil connections, cannot but think that he should have given his assistance to government if he expected their support ; and as for those who are neither engaged themselves, nor have any interest with those who do, they will soon bring themselves to be of opinion, that as he went out of his way, and of his profession, to perplex and harraſs the servants whom the king thought proper to employ, it is no wonder that in some ſort retaliation ſhould take place ; they know ve-

ry well this can never be their own case ; and can therefore feel no discouragement from any apprehension which it is impossible should ever exist with regard to themselves. I am well aware of one objection which is usually made to the dismission from a command. “ *The bed-chamber it was natural to think he could not continue in, but his regiment. Town I am very much surprized : A military punishment for a civil offence.* ” Absurd as this reasoning is, it by no means wants it’s advocates. If the subject were not somewhat serious, it would almost tempt one to ridicule. Apply this extraordinary method of argument to a duel, and the rule becomes absolute for a reciprocity of wounds, that if one of the parties is stabbed on the right side, he must not think of aiming at the left of his antagonist : this is in Shake-spear’s phrase the retort courteous, and such is the refinement of our delicate days, that we must be well bred, even in our resentments : The hands of government would have

have been esteem'd weak indeed, if whilst  
endeavours were using, on every side, to dis-  
tress and to perplex them, they had content-  
ed themselves with a peaceable hearing of  
the grossest charges of ignorance and inabi-  
lity without making their opponents sensible  
of the indecent part they were acting : Such  
a conduct would have been calculated to dis-  
pirit their friends, and invigorate their adver-  
saries, who, tho' the objects of so ill-judg'd a  
lenity, would have been among the first to  
have term'd it cowardice and pusillanimity.  
The army will not then think themselves  
aggrieved in this particular dismission. The  
cause in which this general was engaged re-  
lated no way to the defence of their professi-  
on : They will not therefore lament him as  
one fallen in their behalf. And with respect  
to the situation of military men in general,  
whenever they incur the displeasure of their  
master in matters wholly foreign to the mili-  
tary, they will be so far from making a *cause*  
*commune*, or from applying to themselves as  
any

any mark of disgrace, that it will prove rather a means of keeping them more closely attached to the respective businesses before them, as the surest means of preserving a connection between their merits, and their advancement.

Further let it be enquired what injury has been done to the general as an individual. And here the public must be caution'd not to run into the common-place custom of lavishly bestowing on every man in opposition to the persons who displease them, every virtue under the sun. A man of tolerable discretion in his vices need only go to Wildman's, and vote with the minority : He becomes immediately

*Liber, Honoratus sapiens rex denique regum.*

Had it not been for this, many of our present patriots would have descended to their graves without being handed down to posterity, for their heroic and illustrious deeds.

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The public would never have known that a noble Duke had spent his estate in the service of his country, or that the whole system of his administration was one continued series of inflexible integrity and strict attention to the foreign and domestic interests of Great Britain. The object of the present question comes in too for his share of the Panegyrick *upon this occasion*: Not content with the virtues which adorn a private life, our news writers would blazon forth his military merit, and the whole is confidently closed with assertions of the very eminent services he has perform'd; tho' I do not recollect indeed, having seen any eulogies upon the nice adjustment of the hair, or the rhetorical use of the glove. Impartial judgements are not to be drawn from such suspicious informations. Would we know truly the injury he has sustain'd, it can only be rightly estimated from a considerate view of his situation. In point of fortune, he will not be accounted a great sufferer from the largeness of his independent

income. Besides, what soldier ever served for pay? and yet, even in point of fortune, upon casting up the bill will the public be found in the General's debt? His appointments have been very considerable for a great length of time, to which, if we add the large increase which he derived from being left commander in chief in *Germany*, they would form a sum sufficient to out-ballance the deservings of many military men. I would beg leave to observe that I do not pretend here to include the General's merit in particular; that is of so very tender a nature, that I shall no more venture to decide upon it's quantity than to question it's reality. But so far I will pronounce as a kind of middle man between the public and an individual; that a great sum of money given, requires a great service performed. I do know that altogether, he has received much public money, and I have no room to doubt (as the greater part of it was given under his Grace's administration) that an equal service was performed. I am the more at liberty to think

that the late dismission was no injury to the general as an individual, because the consequences of the part he chose to take in public business must have been evidently foreseen. He could never expect that his royal master would submit to be thus braved, even in his bedchamber, and suffer his favours to be heaped indiscriminately whether he acted against, or in concurrence with his government. It required no great depth of policy to discover that an administration can never be of long continuance which permits it's enemies to remain on the same footing with it's friends ; *ubi malos præmia sequuntur haud facile quis quam gratuito bonus est.* Nor would the divesting him of one employment have given the idea of a tone of firmness and decision. A man who has five and twenty hundred a year, if he is conscious to himself that his conduct has been such as must have provoked the resentment of those who have his employments in their power ; may flatter himself indeed, and so strange a thing is self partiality,

partiality, may induce himself for a time to believe that that employment alone will be taken from him which he is the readiest to part with. Avarice likewise may come in to a man's assistance on such an occasion, and teach him to feel that he had much rather lose five hundred than five and twenty. But if the dismission was intended (as it undoubtedly was) a certain mark of displeasure for a conduct which had given much offence, there was a necessity of it's totality, in order to it's being a punishment.

I can easily conceive that in particular cases dismission would be a release instead of penalty or a retaliation. Suppose for instance, what may be a creature of imagination, however for argument's sake, suppose a man brought near his royal master by an honourable post, and engaged by that means as it were in a necessity of frequent intercourse and communication with him. This man, thro' disgust, caprice, ambition, or some such motive, forgetful of his own situation, and

regardless of the opinions and advices of his friends, engages deeply in league with a set of men whose determined purpose is to impose conditions of their own, and to give the law to their S——N. Their plans become his language; their resolutions are the same; yet he continues still in office; frequents the R——l presence as before; is employ'd in those daily services which in most minds beget a kind of affectionate reverence and esteem for those to whom they are done.

With what comfort, think you, is it that he now draws near with his lips to his R——l master, while in his heart he is so far from him? Would not a dismission in such an instance to a man circumstanced as I have described him, be consider'd more properly as a release; as setting him more at liberty to pursue the purposes he is so bent on; and taking from his view those virtues which he is so obstinately resolv'd to persecute. If such a case should ever exist, the removal from that employment

employment could not surely be consider'd as the whole of the displeasure that was to arise as long as there remain'd a possibility of inflicting more. But to return. The injury is endeavour'd to be brought home to the dismissed general by suggestions, That it was for *One Vote*. What ! single a man out and dismiss him for one vote only, and that too in a matter wherein the liberty of the subject was so essentially concern'd, and where many other general officers conducted themselves exactly in the same manner. I shall not take upon myself to assign any reason at all for the dismission now in question. I will state some short facts, for the truth of which I will appeal to the testimony of the well-informed, and leave the public to judge how far the tenor of conduct which has been observ'd by the General ever since the beginning of last winter operated in the present case.

Had it been asserted that the General had concurred with administration in *one instance*,

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it perhaps had been much nearer the truth than the supposition that he opposed them only in one.

Whoever was conversant in the business of the last winter, will readily call to mind that the greater part of the time before *Christmas* Holidays was spent in a disagreeable tho' very necessary transaction relating to Mr. Wilkes. I do not remember in the several stages of that affair, which was considerably spun out by a variety of untoward accidents, that the General took any part in the resenting the insult which had been so grossly offer'd to his master; and which, considering the relation he at that time bore to his family, could not have been looked upon in the least as misbecoming his character or station.

After *Christmas*, when the opposition had summoned all their strength from the country, and began very confidently to name the day on which they were to enter into their glory,

glory, this gentleman, who had hitherto observed a kind of suspicious neutrality, began more openly to declare himself; and except on some one point in which Mr Wilkes was concern'd, the particulars of which are by no means present to my recollection, between the 16th of January, and the 17th of the following month, he never happen'd to be of the same opinion with the King's servants in government.

So uniform a tenor of conduct will not generally be imputed to the effect of chance or accident, as it carries with it the marks of design and premeditation. It was not administration alone that consider'd him as their opponent: The opposition were daily vaunting of him as an important acquisition, and indeed gave out at one time that he had undertaken to lead them. What doubt could be entertain'd of his inclinations after the virulent charge of ignorance and incapacity which he pour'd forth against the minister,

and which being totally unsupported by the least shadow of proof, might serve well enough to indicate his dispositions at the expence of his judgement and his temper. Whenever therefore the dismission is mention'd, together with the conduct in parliament, which for want of knowing any other is usually assign'd as the cause of it, let it be fairly stated to the public ; let them be assured that the General was as vigorous and active, and in short, as totally in opposition, I will not presume to add that he was as penetrating and as eloquent, as the cool and dispassionate G—— O—.

If we view the object of the present enquiry in a military capacity, we shall still be at a loss to know what particular injury has been sustain'd by the late dismission. If the General's rise in the army had been the effect of an uncommon military genius, like that of *Wolfe*, wholly separate and detached from any parliamentary connections, or from the interest of the great family

family to which he is allied; much might have been said in support of pretensions to the continuance of that rank which he had so deservedly acquir'd. But if the several gradations he has passed thro' have been in the usual way of favour and affection, it can not I think be matter of great surprize; that as parliamentary interest contributed so greatly to his advancement, it should cease to operate upon his fortunes when the alterations which have happen'd since in government, and his own particular conduct, have set it in so different a point of view: I really do not mean to depreciate the General's conduct; or to set it below the standard, which can be justified by fact, and a fair appeal to past transactions.

I am ready to allow him, what he unquestionably has, a spirited courage; as to conduct, have we heard of this general officer in the same brilliant light as we did

of Wolfe and of Amherst ? Have we heard of him distinguishing himself in Germany, as we did of Mostyn, Waldegrave, and others in the plains of Minden ? *We have heard of him at Rocbefort ;* but the indulgent public draws a veil over that transaction, and though it might have been called forth in all its glaring colours, had he taken an active part in favour of administration, the good cause he is now engaged in sanctifies every part of his former conduct.

What though the trumpet of war sounds no longer its big alarms, the general, even “ in this piping time of peace,” may have an opportunity of being present at councils of war at Wildman’s, and of signing resolutions *that nothing can be done.*

Our next enquiry will be, what detriment has the public received from the late dismission ? This examination has in a great measure

measure been already forestalled; for if it appears to your satisfaction, that the army has no reason to complain of his dismission as a member of that profession, nor that he himself has, upon the whole, received an injury as a private citizen, it follows of course that the public, which must consider him in one of those two capacities, has not received any detriment.

It may be urged, indeed, and speciously enough to those who have no great experience in public business, that he has suffered in the cause of his country, for maintaining that freedom which is our glory and our birthright. This has been artfully enough endeavoured to be constantly insinuated, upon the footing that the dismission took place on account of the vote given with relation to the warrants ; but besides that it is unfair to ascribe to *one* action, what may be much more probably deduced as the regular consequence of a settled plan of conduct during

the whole course of the last winter ; yet for one instant supposing the fact just as it is stated, and that the *one* vote alluded to, was the cause of the regiment's being taken away, yet does it follow from thence, that the vote then given was in the cause of liberty ?

Are they to be accounted the champions of liberty, who, on the Friday, assert that no man can be safe in his own house, unless a declaration is made of the illegality of particular warrants ; and yet on the very Tuesday next ensuing, when the abuse is proposed to be remedied in a regular constitutional method by bill, can sit still, and suffer such a proposition to be thrown out, nay, many of them concur in rejecting it ? Was it the freedom of their country, think you, or a personal attack on particular men, that induced them to clamour concerning the danger of the public, and to neglect, at the same time, the most effectual plan for providing

providing against the outrages they complained of, when they found no opportunity of executing their personal resentments ; public good was the ostensible reason ; private malice is a motive not quite so creditable to own,

Whatever then may be the temporary language of a party, no one, upon mature consideration, will assert that the resolution relating to the warrants was attempted to be carried, from a desire of securing the freedom of the subject. The consequence of such an assertion is too well foreseen, and the accounting for the conduct of the same set of men, who, within four days, would not suffer the point to be settled by bill, though it were couched even in the words of their proposed resolution, and which was doubtless a candid offer, the immediate determination upon which they had so lately declared essential to the very being of the state, is too insurmountable a difficulty to be rashly attempted.

For

For my own part, though I pretend not to be so sagacious as to fathom the depths of all the councils of Albemarle-street, for some of their ways, I believe, are past finding out, yet I have met with nothing hitherto, that could invalidate the opinion I have ever had of this transaction, that it was really no more than a boyish attempt to out-vote the ministry for once, among other reasons, probably, that they might no longer be called by so *leffening* a name as that of the Minority. They could never hope, surely, to come into government upon the decision of such a question in their favour; and yet so awkward were they at calculations, that within half an hour of the event, the notes sent to Newcastle-house breathed an air of victory and triumph: hands were clapped, after they had been told brushes were laid ready for kindling bonfires, and the signal just going to be given for lighting up the monument, when, by the cruel reverse of their expectations, t—t—, and his insipid peevish brother

ther-in-law, were disappointed of their fancied seats at the Treasury-board, and the populace cheated of all their ale.

If it be asked then how the general came to appear in such a cause, I shall not presume to assign the reason, but leave it to be determined at the same time with another quere relating to that business. If he thought it a question in which our liberties were fundamentally concerned, why did he not take as distinguished a part in the week following, for promoting the bill which was to regulate the abuse complained of for the future? when that is answered, the true motives of his conduct may appear.

The enemies of administration, sensible enough that this particular case would not be sufficient to rouse the public to that enthusiastic ardour which they could wish, have been obliged to recur to their wonted artifice upon this occasion, the inserting in

the news-papers a declaration that many more general officers were to be dismissed; and then endeavouring to found arguments from the very articles so inserted.

As a curious specimen of this kind of reasoning, I will just cite a passage from one of the papers upon this subject: " But the minds of the people are not to be thus quieted, and the turning out that able general, *and the report of turning out several others* for their votes in parliament, is such an exertion of the prerogative, and such a blow to public liberty, as have irritated the people to a degree which may make a minister tremble." For want of other accusations, you may observe, the report of turning out several other general officers, is here ingeniously substituted, as if ministers were responsible not only for their own conduct, but for the measures which their adversaries report are to take place.

Not

Nor did the malice of this restless faction stop here: the public was immediately alarmed with a rumour, "that an ambassador at a certain great court had desired to be recalled." Within four days after the dismission, this was every where propagated with incredible assiduity; though if a courier had set off from Wildman's to Paris on the very first item of this event, it was morally impossible he could have returned by the time at which the report was current; nor, if it had been possible, would he have brought with him any such request from the noble lord. That distinguished nobleman, though possessed of every possible regard for his brother, which the tenderest affections can inspire, is not forgetful of the duty which he owes his sovereign and his country; and though he must have felt a very sensible concern for one so near and dear to him, yet the behaviour which occasioned that dismission, we may justly suppose was not the

least cause of his anxiety. He will never, therefore, think himself called upon to relinquish a service, which he executes so honourably to himself, and so beneficially to the public, in defence too of a conduct so widely different from his own.

Upon the whole, then, what opinion would you form of the dismission of the general? That the army has been injured? by no means. It can be no discouragement to the army, that one of its members is cut off from the service, for a conduct in which their profession is no ways concerned in the least. That the general has been injured? *Volenti non fit injuria.* Every one who is tolerably conversant in public business, must long ago have made this observation, that it is impossible for any man to remain long in office, who has adopted a system, and takes a constant active part in opposition to government.

That the public has been injured? The public must first know what great benefits

it has received from the continuance, before it can decide upon the damage it is likely to sustain from the dismission.

Thus much, however, may be collected, that although many things may be borne for the sake of tranquillity, for the sake of personal regards, for the sake too of past services, *sunt certi denique fines*. The chief magistrate beareth not the sword in vain ; there is a time when forbearance becomes dangerous : and let it be farther remembered, it has always been the undoubted right of the Crown, to make and remove the officers of the army at pleasure. This is a part of our constitution, and to endeavour to rob the Crown of it, is an invasion of our constitution, and the readiest way to bring those liberties into danger, which we thus injudiciously mean to defend.

F I N I S.

If this revision from the committee  
is now made upon the draft it is likely  
to suffer from the difficulty.

The more power may be conferred  
upon the king than may be given to  
the vice of Ireland. In the first of last  
year's message for the sake of being fit  
access, was made provision that the  
legislative power not be given to him;  
that is to give when necessary powers  
delegations; and this is the understanding  
of the Senate, that the king has no right of  
the Crown, to interfere in the affairs of  
the state if he is not in fact of service to  
the commonwealth, and to disavow, or  
the Crown of it, in any case of his  
misrule, and the leading men to publish  
impartial notice into damages which may incur.

